extension staff left, the internal tensions re-asserted themselves. [245] [578] [654] [435]

The people made an attempt to keep the garden working as the price of coffee was then 3/3 per pound. Persons from several sub-clans participated in harvesting, pulping and drying and a consignment of coffee was taken on foot to Popondetta (a distance of about seventeen miles each way by the paths then in use). For the first time women and children helped with the harvesting. The income from sales was distributed by the coffee boss, but disputes arose over the proportions due to the "landowners" for the use of the land and to the coffee boss for his supervision, as well as the relative shares to be given to those who had done the work, for some had not worked as many days as others. Members of other sub-clans again withdrew from the project. The coffee boss himself and some members of Hoiwo'undi sub-clan occasionally harvested a little coffee to provide money for particular needs, but most of it was left untouched. No further maintenance was done. When the Higaturu Council and its supervising officer, Mr. Normoyle, strongly advocated planting by individuals rather than groups, a number of people took seeds from the community garden and established their own individual coffee plots. [462] [464] [578] [433] [434]

When the Higaturu Council erected a coffee factory in Popondetta late in 1959, councillors were encouraged to maximise coffee production in their areas. The Ongoho councillor (who is a half-brother of the ex-village constable)(1) was able to persuade some people to start harvesting again. On this occasion each family was to be allowed to harvest, process and sell whatever coffee its members picked.(2) People were to be allowed to pick anywhere and at any time. No maintenance was done except on one occasion at the beginning when all people worked together to clear the undergrowth. This system [578]

(1) When the council was formed all village constables were compulsorily retired. [625]

(2) The produce was still taken to Popondetta on foot. The Higaturu Council provided a tractor and trailer to collect coffee from various points along the main Saiho-Popondetta road, but Ongoho was about eight miles from the nearest point. As a flat rate of one penny per pound was charged for the service, the Ongoho people did not use it. They used to leave Ongoho at dusk and carry all night and arrive at the factory early the following morning. [489]

warfare. He sees their personality attributes as being "congruent with the social structure that favours individuality and mobility". Reay (1953:111) states that Orokaiva men are encouraged to be highly individualistic. Superficially at least, these views would suggest that the Orokaiva would tend to be receptive to the changes currently being wrought by cash cropping and paid labour though, as Keesing points out, their reaction will be dependent on the monetary and other incentives which these activities provide.

Extension services: McCarthy (1962:110) notes that the Orokaiva people "suffered at the hands of the Yodda valley goldseekers at the end of the nineteenth century and the severity of the magistrate Monckton at the beginning of the new century, and it is said that they have not forgiven either occasion." Subsequent contact experiences have not been such as to alter their attitudes very greatly, and this situation detracts from the effectiveness of the available extension services.

No agricultural extension workers had visited Inonda during the twelve months preceding our visit and it is understood that extension patrols seldom call there more than once a year, and then only for brief visits. Several Inonda people attended a one-day extension class on coffee harvesting at Popondetta during our stay, but this was the only such class they had been aware of in that year. People can, of course, consult extension officers in Popondetta at any time, but as a result of language difficulties and social distance the Inonda people do not take advantage of this facility. The number of extension staff at present in the area is quite inadequate to serve the needs of a community which has only recently become aware of the techniques and potential of cash cropping. More extension services would probably result in extension of cash crop plantings, improved husbandry, and higher output. Pig production could also be expanded to the limits of the existing market.

Transport and marketing: With the completion of the Girua road there will be all-weather road access to both Popondetta and the port of Oro Bay which is soon to be developed to handle overseas shipping. There is at present no commercial transport service to take produce to market and none of the villagers have transport of their own. The quantity of pro-

duction is at present so small that it is not difficult to take coffee or cocoa on foot and there is every indication that transport services in the roaded parts of the district will be available before output is greatly increased.

Coffee is sold to the Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society in Popondetta and cocoa to private traders. Cash is paid at the time of sale and in the case of coffee a bonus is also paid at a later stage if profits permit. Marketing facilities cater adequately for present production.(1)

The situation regarding perishable products is quite different. The only outlet for fresh fruits and vegetables is at the Popondetta market which is held every Saturday. Market prices are low (by comparison with those at Port Moresby or other larger markets) and most commodities are oversupplied. When produce is taken to market it is not uncommon to have to bring some back or discard it. The villagers could supply considerable quantities of fresh vegetables (particularly taro) if the demand for it could be increased. There is usually a keen demand for fresh fish, pork and poultry, and the market could absorb much more than is at present supplied.(2)

Some implications for policy

The surplus of underemployed labour among those villagers who do not work for wages (and local wage labour will soon cease with the completion of construction contracts) can be used economically in primary production in two ways. Firstly people can be encouraged to plant additional cash crops. It has been shown that this is hindered at present in Inonda by problems of land tenure. If these were overcome an increase in productivity would probably result, though it would be limited by the present traditional demands on time.

Secondly, a small proportion of the more active and

(1) For details of the export market for New Guinea coffee and cocoa see Reserve Bank, 1962.

(2) A detailed study of the Popondetta market by R. B. Dakeyne is now being prepared for publication in this Bulletin.